

THE
INTEREST
OF
SCOTLAND
IN
THE
ESSAYS

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OF THE
UNION OF SCOTLAND AND ENGLAND
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ESSAYS

TO THE
Nobility and Gentry
OF
SCOTLAND

My Lords and Gentlemen,

A Man who maketh the Publick Concern his own, and an Author that Dedicats his Works to any Society of People, the one must resolve to have the Sense of his Duty for a reward: And the other, Men of all Characters for his Patrons.

But Men that live together in a regular Society, are very much deceived, when they think it sufficient for their Happiness to scrape together plentiful Estates: without concerning themselves how the publick Business of their Country is managed. For, how can they be secure, either in their Enjoyment, if the Laws don't protect them? Or, how can they Hope for Good Laws, if they don't concern themselves with that Assembly, which hath the Legislative power?

Epistle Dedicatory.

Rome owes not her Greatness to her Founders, who were a parcel of People Born and Nurs'd up in Murders and Plunderings, and trained in all sort of Villanies; but to their Successors, who became Wise, Frugal, Just, and passionately studious of Virtue and Glory, till at last, they overtop'd in power all their Neighbours. Nor could any thing have put a stop to their Empire, till privat Men did prefer their own gain to the Interest of the Publick. Then was it, that, in the time of the Emperor *Tiberius*, all ran headlong into Slavery; The Consuls, the Senat, the Gentry: And the Nobler the Person was, the greater hast he made to ruine his Country.

My Lords,

You are Hereditary Members of Parliament, so that both your Titles of Honour and your privat Interests oblige your Lordships to be the Pillars and Supporters of your Country: By managing all it's Concerns, without the least byass, from that true Virtue which
in

Epistle Dedicatory.

inspired some of your Forefathers to appear Heroes for this Nation.

And you, Gentlemen, who are Members of Parliament, both your Duty to your Countrey, to your Friends, and to your selves, will stare you in the Face, if you do any thing against the Interest of any of them. And you that are not Members of Parliament, how necessary is it, for the Security of your Lives, Liberties and Properties, that good Laws be made, and every thing removed, that may endanger them? Be therefore diligent, in putting the Members of Parliament in mind of their Duty; and let the most sensible of you, who have Families and Estates to care for, endeavour to fill the Places of the Representatives of Parliament, when any are vacant, that by your Honesty and Wisdom, every Misfortune may be avoided, that hath threatned this Nation from Members, that have neither Fortune nor Reputation to preserve.

Whilst the Parliament contains Men of Courage and Publick Spirit, who can neither be bought nor frighted, Matters cannot long proceed amiss: And 'tis hard-

Epistle Dedicatory.

hardly conceivable, what Esteem is payed to Men of steady Principles, even by their Enemies: their very Words and Actions are admired and followed, so long as they live. Whereas busy Intriguers after Places and Pensions are contemptible to the very Men, of whom they are the wretched Instruments to enslave their Countrey.

Therefore, *My Lords and Gentlemen*, If these Essays can demonstrat any way the Interest of this Nation, I will have my Design both in Writing and Dedicating of them to you, on whom dependeth the greatest part of the Happiness of your Countrey.

*My Lords and Gentlemen,
Tours, &c.*

This Book being printed in haste, these Errors have escaped the Correction of the Press, which the Reader is desired to mend with his Pen.

Page 8. line 8. for *was*, read *were*. p. 32. l. 8. f. *Pedro*. r. *Pietro*. p. 44. l. 28. f. *Unite*. r. *Act*. p. 54. l. 17. f. *bave*. r. *bath*. p. 100. l. 9. f. *part*. r. *Party*.

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ESSAY

CONCERNING

The true Original and Indifference

OF Church Government.

ALL Christians are taught by Divine Revelation, that they are the Off-spring of one Man and one Woman; for whose sin being condemned to Ignorance, they are prone to Vice, and subject to unruly Passions, which hurries them on in the Commission of Evil, and causes Rapine and Violence to triumph in the World.

It was only a few of the first Ages, that retained any knowledge of *God*, and of *His Worship*; all the rest being left to the Dictats of *Nature*, to provide what they should find convenient for themselves: Till mutual fear of being oppressed one by another did oblige them to unite into *Communities*. Then arose *Command* and *Obedience*, which ever have been the support of all humane Affairs, the Bond of all Society, and the Spirit of every Body Politick, which inables all it's Members to live in Unity.

So long as the World was divided into petty Governments equal in strength amongst themselves, the greatest Ambition of each Mortal, was the Interest of that Society whereof he was a Member, so that *Self-preservation* had the same force to keep him to his duty, that *Religion* hath almost upon us at present.

But so soon as some of those *Communities* did contract a Friendship and Assurance amongst themselves, perhaps some particular Member (whose ill Nature and Ambition over-reached the Wit of his Fellows) did engage them to league together

together, and to assault their Neighbouring Governments, compelling them one after another to submit and trudge for their Maintainance, whilst they loitered at home in ease and plenty: and from such oppressive means (we may suppose) did spring the *Assyrian* Empire, (which is the first made mention of in History) the Founder of which was *Nimrod*, who had the Art to cheat his Companions into a Compliance with himself, for oppressing their Neighbours, and to get himself chosen their Captain, that he might at last be able to bubble them of their Liberties, and to become their absolute *Monarch*. So *Self-preservation*, that great Motive which kept his Fore-fathers in awe, being no longer in use to preserve in order that new moulded Empire, there was a necessity of some Model of Civil Government to make all its Members live regularly, and to follow the different professions assigned them; that Corporations, Colledges, and every Civil Community might have their use, and that the distinction of *Absolute* and *Subordi-*

Subordinate Powers might come in fashion.

Nevertheless, this Empire had split in pieces in its very Infancy, (its People being in Ease and Plenty, and its Soldiers left to follow the itch of their own Inclinations) if there had not been some Men, by decay of Nature, perhaps incapable of the Vices then in Vogue, which had the foresight to joyn *Priest-Craft* with their Civil Government; for Banishing from it (as much as possible) both Mental and Corporal Vices, and for bringing People's Consciences under Subjection; that they might the more nicely observe a strictness in Morals. Then it was, that the *Assyrian Monarchy* had it's Church-Government, as well, as (in succeeding Ages) the *Persian, Gracian, Roman,* and all other *Heathen Governments* had their's: which have been composed of Persons of more than vulgar Capacities, capable to continue a probable History of a World to come, to make acquaintance with its imaginary Inhabitants, and to become Mediators betwixt them, and their fellow Citizens, whom they

they always managed both for the Glory of their Gods, and for their own private Advantage. Then was it the Custom to Sacrifice, not only Beasts, but Men, Women, and Children, and to impose all the Idolatry imaginable upon the World, by their *Oracles*; the Cheat of which hath been often discovered, as particularly, by *Theophilus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, who shewed the Inhabitants of that Town, the hollow Statues into which the Priests privately crept to give their Responses.

Of all the *Pagan* Church-Governments, we know most of that of the *Romans*.

Romulus and his Successor *Numa Pompilius* being made sensible by their own Experience, and that of their Neighbours, how great a Ligament of Government political Religion was, took care to Institute several Orders of *Priests*, to whom all their Subjects might pay Honour, and by whom they were to be instructed, how to pray, what Sacrifices, what Vowes, what Gifts would be acceptable to the Gods; and in a word, in all the Ceremonies

monies made use of in *Divine Service*.

The *Pontifices* of all the *Priests*, seems to have had the greatest share of Church-Government; for *Cicero* (in his Oration to them) tells them, that the Honour and Safety of the Common Wealth, the Liberty of the People, the Houses and Fortunes of the Citizens, and the very Gods themselves were all entrusted to their Care, and depended wholly on their Wisdom and Management.

The *Superintendent* of the *Pontifices*, was one of the Most honourable Offices in the Common Wealth; upon which account all the Emperors, for their own Interest, and after the Example of *Julius Caesar*, either took the Name of *Pontifex Maximus*, or actually discharged the Office themselves; and even the Christian Emperors retained the Title, till *Gratian* refused it.

The *Jews* were the only People on Earth that had continued to them the Knowledge of the true GOD, who was pleased to reveal his Will from time to time to their Fore-fathers, commanding *Moses* his Servant to give them his Laws, and to Model a Church-Government,

ment, to the Members of which were to be committed the *Divine Oracles*.

This was the State of the *Jews*, whilst the wise Governours of all othr Nations, such as *Solon*, *Lycurgus*, and *Numa Pompilius*, were sensible of the use of *Religion*; but were not able to become acquainted with the true God for want of Revelation: So that their Opinions about His *Will* and *Nature*, and those of all the Ancient Philosophers have been so many ridiculous Whimsies.

But no sooner did the Son of GOD appear, (who was the Original and Model of all Perfection) than he was to be a Light to the whole World; and a great part of the *Jewish* Laws was to lose their Authority. For he knowing the Will of God his Father, better than *Moses*, was pleased to reveal to all Nations, that it was no longer the design of God to make a distinction betwixt *Jew* and *Gentile*, but that he would embrace every Nation, that would believe in him, and obey his Laws. At Thirty years of Age he began to establish his most excellent Religion, meeting with all the Opposition imaginable from the *Jews*,

Jews, as an invader of their Fundamental Laws; He was Persecuted, and followed all his life with Assaults of Malice and Cruelty; His Credit was Slandered, his Doctrine slighted; and at last he was put to Death with all sort of Torture and Disgrace. His only Companions upon Earth was a parcel of poor People, whom he called his Disciples, and to whom he taught a Doctrine, that called men from their Lusts and Pleasures; that offered Violence to their Natural Inclinations; That required the greatest strictness of Life; That revealed Truths above the reach of Natural Comprehension, and that obliged Men to take up a Cross, to follow the Example of a *Crucified Saviour*, in expectation of an invisible World.

This *Jesus* then is of more value to us, than e're *Moses* was to the Jews: he being our Law-giver, our God and our *Saviour*, who hath given Laws to all those, who will believe and acknowledge his Authority.

Our *Saviour*, when he came into the World, as he was God, so was he *Omniscient*, knew what Opposition his Doctrine

trine would meet with, and with what Misfortunes his Followers would be dogged. He came not to a particular People, as *Moses* did to the *Jews*, of whose obedience he was assured; but he came to the People of the habitable Earth, to teach them the way to Heaven by *Repentance* and *Faith*. At his first Arrival he found no Church, but the *Jewish*, which was to vanish at his Appearance: Therefore he laid the Foundation of one himself, by Preaching and working Miracles, and by triumphing on the Cross over Ignorance and Wickedness, which had ruled all the Heathens.

After his Ascension into Heaven, on the day of *Pentecost*, he sent down the *Holy Ghost* upon his *Apostles* and *Disciples*, who were assembled at *Jerusalem*, enduing them with the Gift of *Tongues*, and of *working Miracles*; Commissionating them to propagat his Church and Kingdom, thro the whole World: which accordingly they did, Preaching the Gospel first to the *Jews*, and then to the *Gentiles*, many of them taking particular parts of the World, to make known the Joyful News of Salvation. Thus St. *Paul*

drew Preached the Gospel in *Scythia*, *St. Bartholomew* in *India*, *St. Matthew* in *Parthia*, and *St. John* in the lesser *Asia*: They went from Town to Town, and from Village to Village, publishing the Blessed News of Immortality, and constituting *Bishops* and *Deacons*, the first Fruits of their Ministry, leaving them to govern, and to enlarge the particular Churches, over which they had placed them. *Tertullian* saith (*de Præscrip. advers. Hæresi.*) That *Clemens* was ordained *Bishop* of *Rome* by *St. Peter*, and *Polycarp* *Bishop* of *Smirna* by *St. John*.

Now, Let us enquire, whether our *Saviour*, or his *Apostles* after his Death, left any distinct Scheme of Government, to be followed by all particular Churches; which Scheme, if there be any, must be found in the *Holy Scriptures*, or in the Writings of the *Fathers*, who succeeded immediatly to the *Apostles*; but if no Scheme of Church Government is to be found in either of them, it is very surprising, that ever since the *Reformation* in this *Island*, there have been two Parties which have set up for different Schemes of Church-Government, the one

called *Presbyterian*, and the other *Episcopal*, and that either of them hath been so zealous for establishing its Government, that nothing will please either of them, if its Government be not of *Divine Institution*; by which the one Party can damn the other.

But upon what grounds either of them can call its Church Government *Jura Divino*, if it is not institute in every point by God, as the *Jewish Government* was, I cannot comprehend.

For *First*, That Church Government which is from God, must be revealed by him to his People some way or other; but no Scheme of Church Government hath as yet been revealed: Therefore all Church Government must be of Humane Institution.

That no Scheme of Church Government is yet revealed, is evident; because, there's none in all the *New Testament*, unless we are perswaded, that when we read the words *Bishop*, *Deacen*, *Diaconess*, we have found the very individual Scheme of Government that was in use amongst the *Apostles*. For my part I understand no more of their Church Govern-

Government by reading these words, than one can understand of the Civil Government of Scotland, if he heard only of a *President of Council*, or of some *Officers of State*.

Secondly, If the *Apostles* had constitute a *Church Government*, after which we were obliged to model one, as if it were immediately from *God*; surely we must understand it in all its parts, otherwise we cannot follow it in all its *Form*; but the Practice of the *Apostles*, in constituting their *Church Government*, is but little known to us, therefore it's impossible for us to follow their Practice, in forming a *Church Government*. Nor do we follow at present the Practice of the *Apostles*, in as far as we know it, otherwise there should be no *Bishop* by virtue of a *Conse des lire*, nor should the *Presbyterian Government* want *Diaconesses*, and other Officers, which were in Use in the *Primitive Churches*; because by the same Authority we either add or diminish from the Practice of the *Apostles* in *Church Government* (if it be an Article of Faith) by the same Authority we can change their Practice altogether.

Lastly,

Lastly, I cannot believe, that any particular *Form of Church Government* is prescribed to all particular Churches, otherwise we may reasonably suppose, that the *Apostles*, who have been at the pains to writ down all that is necessary to be believed, would not have omitted to leave it to Posterity.

Seeing then that we have no *Scheme of Church-Government* in the *Scripture*, where must we go next to prove either the *Episcopal* or *Presbyterian Government* to be of *Divine Institution*? I suppose it must be from the practice of the *Fathers* of the first Centuries; but if they were Men like unto our selves, capable of Error and Folly, I hope their practice will be of no more Authority, than they had reason on their side.

That the *Fathers* of the first Centuries were Men fallible like unto our selves may be proved by these two considerations.

First, They have erred in points of the greatest Consequence. *Iustin Martyr* (the most ancient of all the *Fathers*, next to *Clemens Romanus*) was of Opinion, that the *Saints* should Reign a Thou-

Thousand Years in Jerusalem, before the *Resurrection* should be accomplished: Which was the Opinion of the *Chiliasm*, condemned by all the *Orthodox*. *Ireneus* maintained (*Iren. contra Her.*) that our *Saviour* was above Forty Years when he suffered Death, contrary to what we are taught by the *Evangelists*. *Clemens Alexandrinus* believed (*lib. 1. Strom.*) that the Angels fell in Love with the first Women, and that this Love transported them so far, as to make them indiscreetly to discover unto them many secrets, which they ought to have concealed. The reason, I suppose made honest *Clemens* entertain such a Notion, was, that the Women in his days were more reserved in discourse, than they are at present. *Tertulian*; against all Reason, (*lib. 1. Adver. Marc.*) makes God subject to the same passions that we are subject to. And *Cyprian*, who was *Tertullian's* admirer, hath maintained many of his ridiculous Opinions.

Secondly, they have been at great Variance amongst themselves, and maintained different Opinions of great moment. *Justin Martyr*, and *Irenaeus* pro-

promise us the pleasures of a new *Jerusalem* upon Earth, for a Thousand Years, whilst *Dionysius Alexandrinus* and *St. Hierome* laugh't at them for fools.

But grant that we should follow the practice of the Fathers in Church-Government, let us see what we can learn from their Writings.

To perswade us that there were many *Bishops* in one Church, we have both the Authority of the *Holy Scriptures* and of *Clemens Romanus* (*Epist. 1. ad Cor.*) Yet *Ignatius Tertullian* and *Cyprian* affirm, that there was and ought to be, but one *Bishop* in a Church at a time. Now whether to believe these Fathers or the *Holy Scriptures*, or to reconcile them both, by telling that the words *Bishop* and *Presbyter* were used promiscuously, is left to the Discretion of every disputing Divine.

A whole Church did meet together to manage their own Affairs, when the Schism of *Felicissimus* was to be debated, it was to be done according to the Will of the People, and by the consent of the *Laity*, as *Cyprian* witnesseth in his 10 *Epist.* but either this was the Custom
of

of all the particular *Christian Churches*, or only that of *Carthage*; if it was the Universal Custom we don't know, and that it was the practice of the *Carthaginian Church*, doth not bind all other Churches to follow it.

If *Presbyters* had not the same Inherent Right to perform all the Ecclesiastical Offices, which the *Bishops* had, I don't understand why *Cyprian* being Exiled Writes (*Epist. 5.*) to his Clergy, exhorting and begging of them to discharge their own and his Office too; that so nothing might be wanting either to *Discipline* or *Diligence*. Nevertheless, according to the present practice, where *Episcopacy* is in fashion, no body can ordain but a *Bishop*.

Presbyters were not Essential to the Constitution of a Church, for *Tertullian* in his *Exhort. ad Castitatem*, sayeth, that where there are no *Presbyters*, the *Bishop* alone Administers the two Sacraments, of the Lord's Supper and Baptism. Yet how there can be a *Bishop* without *Presbyters* (if the word *Bishop* be taken in the sense it is used now a dayes) must be the same thing as if

a Man could be called the Father of a
 Familie, who had none.

When Cyprian maketh an *Apology* to
 his *Presbytery* (or *Common Concilium*
 as he termeth it) for ordaining *Aure-
 line* a *Lector*, without their consent;
 we don't know whether it be out of
 Civility to them, or out of his duty,
 the words are, *Epist. 38. In ordinatio-
 nibus clericis solemniter ante consilere,
 et mores ac morita singulorum communi
 consilio ponderare.* &c. where the Word
solemniter may be taken, as it is duty he
 ought to do so.

A *Bishop* was Elected both by the Cler-
 gy & *Lairty* of his Parish, as we learn from
 the Death of *Bishop Anterus* in whose
 place *Paltanus* was Elected at *Rome*, for,
sayeth Eusebius, lib. 6. c. 28. All the
 People met together in the Church to
 chuse a Successor, proposing several illu-
 strious and eminent Personages as fit for
 Office, whilst not one so much as
 thought on *Paltanus* then present, till
 a Dove miraculously came and sat upon
 his head, in the same manner as the Ho-
 ly Ghost formerly descended on our Savi-
 our, and then all the People guided as
 it

it were with one Divine Spirit, cryed out with one Mind and Soul, that *Nastianus* was most worthy of the Bishoprick, and so straightways taking him, they placed him in the *Episcopal Throne*.

At present we know *Bishops* are chosen only by the Clergy, contrary to the Practice of the Church of *Rome*, as we have seen in the Example of *Falavianus*.

The People had power to depose their own Bishops, as the People of *Spain* did *Martiales* and *Basilides*, and who had their Proceedings ratified by an *African Council* assembled in the Year 358. *Cyprian* Epist. 68. But in what Cases, People could depose a Bishop, is not determined by Antiquity.

In the Primitive times, every Christian was considered both as a Member of the Universal Church, and as one of that particular Church where he lived; if therefore he erred in any Article of Faith, he was judged guilty of Heresie: And if he was at Variance with his Bishop, he was guilty only of Schism, and consequently deserved either the Name of Heretick or Schismatick. Yet it's clear, that at present one may be at Varianced with his Bishop,

Bishop, without being reputed Schismatic: For Example, if a particular Man in the Diocess of *Tork* should have a personal prejudice against his Bishop, and would not Communicat with him; altho in the time of *Cyprian*, he would have been guilty of Schism, had he been at Variance with his Bishop.

From this short account, and what more could be collected about the Practice of the Fathers, from their Writings, in Church Government, we can learn nothing but Titles, Names, and some general Rules observed in the Exercise of the Governments of particular Churches, which made up the Universal Church; therefore it must be an Error, to assert that either the Episcopal Government in *England*, or the Presbyterian in *Scotland*, as they are now constitute, was in fashion in the Primitive Ages.

What then in Reason ought to be affirmed for Truth about Church-Government, appears to be, That the Apostles, and those they appointed to preach the Law of their Master, living in times when they had no Civil Government to protect them, were persecuted and har-

raised from place to place, having most of the Magistrates and Philosophers to be their declared Enemies; therefore it was their greatest business only to preach a Crucified Saviour, who was risen from Death and ascended up into Heaven, to be Mediator betwixt his Father and all People that would follow the Laws of his Gospel; which Laws they taught to all their Profelyts, which made up the Catholick Church. And that the Members of it might be the better instructed in the Mysteries of their Religion, it was necessary to have them erected into particular Churches or Societies, as the Circumstances of the Times would allow: Which accordingly they did, and regulated their outward Forms, that all things might be done in Order and Decency. Hence arose the necessity of Church-Officers to keep all things right, and to put the Divine Laws in Execution.

The Bishop was the first Presbyter in Honour for his Apostolick Qualities amongst other Presbyters, who were so many new Apostles to be sent abroad to convert the *Pagans*, and to constitute new

new Churches; as they found Believers, after what forms were most convenient. And by such means were Churches re-rected at *Jerusalem, Alexandria, Rome, Carthage, &c.* Which Churches, so long as they wanted the Protection of Civil Magistrates, so long did they keep a good Correspondence amongst themselves, having frequent Meetings to suppress all Heresies, which Meetings were called Councils.

Now, may we be of Opinion, That our Saviour did foresee that the Christian World would be divided into distinct secular Governments, and that each Government would have the order kept amongst the Men set apart for Divine Service, which was agreeable to his Constitutions for the particular Churches might have different Governments; yet the Universal Church is no more dismembred, than if a King who had different Countreys in Subjection, could be denyed to be Master of them all; because that his Laws were put in Execution in one of them, by a Viceroy, in another, by a few Noble Men; and in the Third, by a parcel of Commons.

To

To strengthen this Opinion, we know, That no sooner the *Roman* Emperours and their Subjects become Christians, but there was an Analogy betwixt their Civil and Ecclesiastical Governments : For the whole Empire being divided into Fourteen Diocesses, each of them comprehending several Provinces ; and every province several Cities : Every City, as it had a temporal Magistrat for executing Justice, so was there also a Bishop, for Spiritual Order and Government. Every Province, as it had a Proconsul, whose Seat was usually at the Metropolis ; So there was in the same City an Arch-Bishop, or, Metropolitan. In every Diocess there was a *Vicarius*, who dwelt in the principal City of the Diocess, where all Imperial Edicts were published : There was also a Primat to equal him, and to whom the Determination of all differences of the Clergy did belong. And lastly, as the Fourteen Diocesses were ruled by four *Prætorian Prefects* in civil Matters ; so were they governed in Church Affairs by Patriarchs, who were superiour to Primats, by reason of the Dignity of these Cities, where

where they had their Sees fixed, as at *Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem.* But to what height Church-men can improve their Power, may be learned from the Patriarchs of *Rome*, who had once almost enslaved the whole Christian world, by their Supremacy, Purgatory, Indulgences, and Pardons, auricular Confessions and Celibacy of the Clergy.

As there is a necessity of some Church-Government to be in every Commonwealth, that by its Discipline, its Members may be keep'd in duty, both to God, and to their fellow Subjects; So every Church-Government ought to sympathize with that Civil Government it meets with, to make up one Christian Society.

But to shew what Church and Civil Governments agree best together, let us take a short view of all them which are in use at present in the Christian world.

The Man hath a Natural Inclination to Society, yet that which constitutes a Body Politick, is Confederation and a Consent of Governours and Governed; from which we have the different kinds of

of Civil Government, Monarchy, Aristocracy and Democracy. And parallel to these, are three kinds of Church-Government, Hierarchy, Superintendency and Presbytrie.

Monarchy is a Government that's vested in one single Person, who is absolute, and hath a Right of constituting and giving Laws to all in general, and to each in particular under his Dominion: To which agrees that Church-Government Hierarchy, composed of Arch-Bishops, Bishops, &c. And of such two Governments was constitute the Roman Empire, in the time of *Constantine*.

Aristocracy is the Government of a few of the greatest power, and conform to it, is Superintendency: Which is a Church-Government, where a parcel of Members are all equal in power, and by the same are distinguished from the rest of the Clergy.

Democracy is a Government, in which the whole Body of the People hath some share; and to this is consonant Presbytrie: Which is a Church-Government, where all the Clergy are equally concerned.

To

To none of the above-mentioned kinds of Civil Government, doth the Civil Governments of *Scotland* and *England* belong; which being both of the same Nature, I shall call them by one Name, a *Limited Monarchical Government*: Which is a Government that's manag'd by one Man, according to the Laws of the Society where he reigns; which Laws are made by him in Conjunction with his People. So that he hath his Prerogatives, and they their Properties; and such a Government hath the Advantage of all others which can degenerat into Tyrannies.

The Government of *Scotland* and *England* being a limited Monarchy, quite opposit to an absolute one; It follows, that some other kind of Church Government must be more agreeable to it than *Hierarchy*, which agrees only with an absolute Monarchy. Because, the People having lodged so many Prerogatives with their King, as the power of declaring War, of making Peace, of sending Ambassadors, of making Leagues and Treaties, and of Levying of Men and Arms by Sea and Land; if

this King is ill-inclined, what wants he more but Money to change the very fundamental Laws of his Government, and to make Parliaments altogether useless : which cannot be raised from the Subject without their consent, or, which is all one, without the consent of Parliament. Therefore the People ought to take particular care in choosing Men to be their Representatives in Parliament, that they be Men of Honour and Probity, whom the Monarch can noways influence to betray the Liberties of their Countrey. And surely it must succeed the better with it, the fewer Members of Parliament depend upon the King.

What power the Kings of Great Britain have had to Cajol Bishops, being constant Members of the Parliament, into a Compliance with their designs, the History of Past-times must declare.

Constantine, as he was the first Christian Emperor, so had he a great respect for the professors of that Religion. We read in his life, That he would not only regal its Teachers at his own Table, but that he never went a Journey with-
out

out some of them along with him, & that, at the Council of *Nice*, so great was his Complaisance for Church-men, that he refused to sit down in their presence. The Clergy on the other hand being sensible of the Emperours Kindness, continue with him the old Title of *Pontifex Maximus*, by virtue of which, he had Right of Ecclesiastical Function: reserving for themselves all the Ministerial Offices. So *Constantine* was

Rex idem hominum, Phœbique Sacerdos.

A mutual good understanding was so cultivated amongst the succeeding Emperours and the Clergy, that they had several Laws made in their favour, (as may be seen in the Titles of the *Codex de Sacrosanctis Eccles: de Episc: & Cler:*) till the Bishops of *Rome*, taking the opportunity of the Division of the *Roman* Empire, being over-run by Barbarous Nations, and of the Ignorance of the times, did set up for it themselves, under the Specious Title of *Christs Vicar*. And how far they carried their Authority with Temporal Princes for some Ages, is evident by the Insolence of *Hildebrand*; who rebelled against his lawful

Emperor *Henry* the fourth, depriving him of all that respect which was due unto him from a Bishop of *Rome*.

It hath been the Policy of the Papal Court, to keep the Clergy of every Common-wealth in a certain Hierarchy; That it might the more conveniently challenge a Supremacy over them; and to the end that they might depend absolutely upon their Interest, for to oppose all Temporal Princes, who durst do any thing in prejudice of the Holy See, by Excommunicating and depriving them of the Allegiance of their Subjects.

In such a Condition was both the Clergy of *England* and *Scotland*, in the time of King *Henry* the Eighth of *England*. Who, being a wise Prince and disobliged by the Pope in the Marriage of *Anna Bullen*, took the occasion of a Critical Minut to throw off the Popes Supremacy over his Clergy, and to assert it for himself, according to the Practice of the Kings of *England*. And finding that his Clergy was satisfied with the change, he continued the Antient Popish Hierarchy, making the Bishops

Bishops of his Kingdom capable of the
greatest Civil Employments in it.

If the Reformation had begun in *Scotland* with publick Authority, as it did in *England*, I doubt not but Episcopacy had been continued there, in place of that Church Government introduced by *Knox* and others, after the *Geneva* Model. Because Supream Civil Powers know how much it is their Interest, to be of the Clergies side: And that it is easier to have a few Church Men to manage, than a Multitude. Of this King *James* is an Example, who was not only a great Favourer of the Clergy, but thought it his Interest, so soon as he was sole Monarch of this whole Island, to establish Episcopacy in *Scotland*, according to that Maxim, *No Bishop, No King.*

Now let us see what great Feats Bishops have done, in the Management of the *British* Affairs, and accordingly we should make our Judgment concerning the Agreeableness of Episcopacy and our Government, which is a Limited Monarchy.

In the Reign of King *James* the First of *Great-Britain*, there were Bishops,

no doubt, who complied with him in every Counsel, that was for the Dishonour of his Crowns. For we find the Bishop of *Lincoln*, then Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, in his Sermon at King *James* his Funeral (either to flatter his Successor, or, to impose upon the World) making a paralel betwixt him and King *Solomon*, his Text being 1 *King*. 11. 41, 42, 43. Now either that Bishop was perswaded of the Verity of what he preached, or not; If he was perswaded, that King *James* was the *Solomon* of his Age, then surely, he could not refuse to go along with him in all his Counsels: And if he preached contrary to what was his Opinion, then, he was capable at Command to be an Haickny Courtier.

In King *Charles* the First's time, it was Bishop *Land*, and others, that occasioned all the Misfortunes that beset that Prince, both unhappy in his Council, and in his Opiniatritie.

In King *Charles* the Second's Reign, we never heard of any of his Ecclesiastical Counsellors, that e're Discouraged themselves, for dissuading him from his Effeminate Way of Living, or from following

too much *French* Counsel. On the contrary, we know, that nothing was more preached up, than Passive Obedience, founded on the Prerogatives of the Kings of *Israel*, as if the Laws of *Moses* had been calculat for our Kings: And, That nothing was more tickling to the Bishops, than the Oppression of their Fellow Subjects of the Presbyterian Perswasion.

In the time of the late King *James*, It is true, there were some Bishops in *England*, who stood for their Religion, in Opposition of Popery; yet the World knows, how well natur'd the Bishops of *Scotland* were upon that Point.

And in this present Reign, we all know, how that Bishops of *England*, did concur to ratifie Proclamations issued out against the *Scots* in the *West-Indies*, which were of a Nature, both below the Meekness of Christianity, and the Generosity of the *English* Nation.

Wise Governments have always had a very mean Opinion of Church-Mens Politicks, as particularly that of *Venice*; for whenever any thing occurs of great Moment there, to be debated in the *Senat*;

nat; before any Suffrage passeth, they cause Proclamation to be made for all Priests to retire.

It is likewise remarkable, That he who is called the Divine of the State, is chosen commonly such an one, who is more Politician, than Bigot in Religion. And of such a Character was Father *Pedro Paulo*, who wrote the History of the Council of *Trent*.

Too much Learning or Wisdom seldom agree together; because, for the most part, too Learned Men are meer Schollars, (& such were most of the Bishops of *England*) which of all Men are the most dangerous when they espouse a Party: For, both their Learning and Zeal can concur together, to make *Black seem White, or White Black*, and to impose what Opinions they please upon the well meaning People. Now when such Men are perpetual Members of Parliament; who have Dependence upon a Limited Monarch, by virtue of a *Conge d'es Lire*, the Laick Subjects cannot be circumspect enough about their Liberties:

Its known, that in the time of Popery, the Pride and Ambition of the Clergy was

was a Curse to that Civil Government, where they had any meddling, carrying themselves always Arbitrarily and Tyrannically, and committing the greatest Sollicitudes in Politicks. And we may observe for the most part, that the Clergy of our Religion, who have concerned themselves with Worldly Affairs, have been the greatest Promoters of Civil Distempers, that have shaken the Foundations either of Church or State. And the very Trumpets which have sounded to Poplar Furies, Martial Alarms, and never better will befall Church-Men, when they act without their own Sphere.

What should move the *English* to censure Church-Men for Counsellors, and Members of Parliament, I cannot comprehend; for were their Bishops educated as the Cardinals are, (who are better acquainted with this World, than that to come) we might hope for as great an Essay of their Wit in State-Affairs, as ever Cardinal *Richelieu*, or Cardinal *Mazarine* did shew to the World. But on the contrary, they know more of the World to come, and are educated together

together exceeding their Characters of Church-Men. Nor do I understand what is the Reason, that there's so just a Proportion, betwixt the Living of a Nobleman, and a Peasant, among the *English* Laicks. And so great a Disproportion betwixt a Bishop and a Twenty Pound Curat, among their Ecclesiasticks. For surely it is unjust, that the Curat should be preaching the Gospel, and starving at the same time: Whilst his Bishop is driving to Court with a Coach and six Horses, to make an handsome Leg to his Temporal Lord.

I now protest, That the Liberty I take of writing after this manner, may not give Offence to the Clergy of any Church; nor that I may meet with the common Fate of Reconcilers, to have Blows for my Pains; being, I'm of no Party, but a Lover of that Church Government, which sympathizes best with the Civil Government it is joyn'd with. So that, if I were Subject to an Absolute Monarch, I should esteem Episcopacy as most agreeable to his Government; But whilst I live in *Scotland* or *England*, I must love that Church Government,

verment, which is least dangerous to the Peoples Liberties. I leave it therefore to the Judgment of every Unbiassed Laick, to determine, if Presbytery, or Superintendency be not more convenient for the People of a Limited Monarchy, than Episcopacy, as it is now established in *England*, and less capable to comply with an Ambitious Prince, for the undermining the Fundamental Laws of his Kingdom, after the Example of the *Dutch* Clergy, which were the Instruments of making their Kings Absolute, to the utter Ruine of all their Ancient Nobility.

I conclude with this following Character, which I wish every Church-Man might merit.

One who is delivered of the Prepossessions and Prejudices of Complexion, Education and Implicit Authority, knowing that all Mankind are puzzled even in the Search of the most obvyous things. One, who can distinguish between the true Articles of Faith, and the pitiful senseless Triffles of Swimming Brains. One who knows, That the Love of God is not Fondness, nor his Justice

Cruelty; and that God acts not by meer Arbitrary Will, but by the Perfections of his own Nature. One, who got for getting to do Good Works; endeavours to go to Heaven only by the Merits of Christ. One, whose Zeal never exceeds his Reason. One, who abounds with Charity, Humility and Meekness. One, who purges Religion from all Fantastick and Unintelligible Mumbling, and reduces it to its Native Plainness and Simplicity. One, who understands himself when he Prays or Preaches. And lastly, One, who followeth in Living, as near as possible, the Practice of the Apostles.

Most happy would that People be,
who lived with a Church-Government,
composed of Members of the foreſaid
Character: For ſurely, Vice and Athe-
iſm ſhould be baniſhed, nor could Prieſt-
Craft, or Knavery, have any place a-
mongſt them.

One who knows that the Love of
God is not fondness, nor his Justice
Cruelty;
F 2

AN ESSAY

Concerning The UNION

OF ENGLAND

AND SCOTLAND

Into one MONARCHY

OF Old, this Island of Great Britain was divided into several distinct Governments, amongst which there have been many bloody and fatal Struggles, in Defence of their respective Interests and Liberties. And no doubt, but, untill this Day, it had continued a Theater of Cruelty and Barbarity, if

all its Inhabitants had not been United in Subjection, by the happy Succession of King James the Sixth of Scotland, to the Crown of England in the year 1603.

King James, who did not always prefer the Interests of his Kingdoms to his own private ends, never gave a greater Testimony of his Affection to them, than in the year 1604; when he proposed to the English Parliament, an Union of the Kingdoms of Scotland and England: Which Motion was at first embraced with the general applause of both People, as the only Mean to extinguish the Memory of all former Animosities.

To bring that Union to a good issue, the Parliaments of both Nations, at his Majesties desire, did nominate Commissioners to meet at Westminster, which accordingly they did: and agreed on several Articles, to be presented to King and Parliaments, for their Ratification. But in the year 1608, the English Parliament would approve only the Article for abolishing all Hostile Laws, that had been in use against either Nation,

tion, before King James his Arrival in
England.

The Reason, I suppose, made Eng-
land neglect that opportunity of Uniting
with Scotland, was, That either it was
not sensible of the Advantages it might
gain by such an Union, (tho' the judicious
Lord Kerulaw did endeavour to demon-
strate them by his Grave Speech,) or
That the Parliament of England did sus-
pect their new Monarch of having
some other design, than the Interests of
his Kingdoms by that Union, of which
he was the first proposer.

King Charles the first, who was brave,
Magnificent, and but too constant in
adhering to ill Counsel, was most of
his life so harassed by his own Subjects,
that he never had time to think upon
that Union, which his Father could not
finish: And Cromwell, who after butcher-
ing of him, usurped his Power, never
thought any further of the Interest of
Britain, but to gratifie his own Ambi-
tion.

King Charles the Second, after his
Restoration to his Kingdoms, had all
the opportunity possible, that Ease and
Plenty

plenty could afford him, to promote
their mutual Happiness, did therefore
propose an Union betwixt *Scotland* and
England in the Year 1670; and did
nominate for that end, several Commis-
sioners under his great Seal, but all
to no purpose; Because, such an Union
could not sympathize with the Politicks
of these days, which were to divide
after such manner, the People of the
whole Island in Religion, and Interest,
that by continually playing one party
against another, His Majesty might be
in a Condition to sway the Scepter in
Peace, and to introduce into his King-
doms any Religion suited best with his
Humour.

And for King *James*, he was so little
inclined to promote an Union, that the
thoughts of another World did wholly
extinguish any Concern he might have
had, for advancing the Interest of his
Kingdoms in this.

His present Majesty hath done many
great Actions, both for the wellfare of
his Kingdoms, and for his own Repu-
tation; yet, there's nothing can contri-
bute more to the Glory of his Family,

than

than Uniting the Kingdoms of England and Scotland into one Monarchy; So that when he distributes Justice; (both their Interests being the same) none of them will have reason to complain. He hath already several times recommended an Union to the English Parliament; but it were to be wish'd that His Majesty would be pleas'd to ordain effectual Means to be used for that end.

There's an Union already betwixt both Nations in Language, Customs, Religion, and in Subjection, which cannot last, unless both Governments be united into one Body Politick. And to consummat that, there must be a great Zeal and Frankness in the Members of both Parliaments, That, all trifling and amusing preliminary Articles being forgot, Commissioners may be deputed from them both, Men of Honour and Probity, no Courtiers, but free of all prejudice against either Nation, for the better adjusting the two following Articles.

The First is, That the Parliaments in Name of both Kingdoms, may con-

sent to joyn together for making up one Parliament of Great Britain.

The *Second* is, That for the taking away all difference about Place, that may arise among the Nobility of both Kingdoms, let them be Marshall'd interchangeably; As for Example, First, The Eldest Duke of *England*, then the Eldest Duke of *Scotland*, and so on, until the Nobility of the whole Island be marked in one Catalogue, as Peers of the Kingdom of Great Britain.

If these two Articles can be agreed to, all danger of Uniting the two Kingdoms will be over, and there's no doubt but that all useful Laws can be made afterwards without the least stop, that are requisite for supporting this new moulded Empire.

But before I proceed to shew, what Laws would be useful; I must remove some Objections, that the learned Sir *George Mackenzie* hath made against the Parliament of *Scotland's* having power to agree to the foresaid two Articles, in his Observations upon King *James* his Act of Parliament concerning the Union; and the Answers to his Objections may prevent

prevent the like, to be made against the power of the Parliament of *England* in the same case, being both Parliaments of *England* and *Scotland*, are of the same Nature.

The first Argument is, That the Members of the *Scots* Parliament for Shires and Burghs, are the same with us, That the *Procuratores Universitatis* are in the Civil Law; But the *Procuratores Universitatis* could not alienate the Rights of their Constituents, without a special Mandat for that effect (163. *de pro.*) Neither can the Parliament of *Scotland* alter the Fundamentals of their Constitution, without the Consent of their Constituents.

It's answered, That the Members for Shires and Burroughs are not the same with the *Procuratores Universitatis*; because, by virtue of their Commissions, they have absolute power to Vote for every point, which they think can contribute to the safety of the Nation: And they are bound only by Oath of Parliament, to Act as Men of Conscience, and not as Men who have particular Instructions from their Constituents. And it

was by that power they altered their Primitive Constitution, by Voting out a Third State of Parliament, in the Beginning of his present Majesty's Reign. Much rather can they, in the Name of their Constituents, agree with the Parliament of England, to the two foresaid Articles, being they'll contribute so much for their Advantage.

The second Argument is, That the Commissioners for Shires & Burroughs are only impowred to represent their Constituents in the Parliament of Scotland; but if the Parliament of Scotland be made a part of the Parliament of Great Britain, the Parliament of Scotland can be said no longer to exist, and consequently the Commissions of all its Members fall, till they be renewed, empowring them to sit in the Parliament of Great Britain.

It's Answered, That by the Answer to the first Argument, we see that the Parliament of Scotland hath an absolute power to agree to the foresaid Articles, so that afterward they may ask new Commissions from their respective Constituents, to Unite as Members of the Parlia-

Parliament of Great Britain. And when both Nations are persuaded of the Advantages of an Union, there can be no impediment to it.

The third Argument is, That the Union of Parliaments requires the full Assent of the Members of both Parliaments; So that, if any Member dissent, The Union of both Parliaments must stop: Because, the Power of making Laws, and the Right to retain or resign Privileges, are two different things. The one is a Legislative Power, which is regulated by a Plurality of Voices: The other is founded upon Dominion and Property, and is not subject to Suffrage, no more than other Properties are.

It's Answered to this last Argument, That it's granted, the Property of any Member of a private Society cannot be taken away from him, without his Consent: As witnesseth the Civil Law, (l. 28. ff. Com. Divid.) The Rules are, *In re pari, melior est Condicio prohibentis*; And, *In re communi, nemo Dominum suum quicquam facere potest, invito altero*. But here is understood, not a private Society, but a whole Kingdom; who being

being their own Masters, can dispose upon themselves and Properties, as they find it convenient for their Interest: And that Power is devolved upon their Representatives of Parliament.

Therefore if any small Number of People, or of Members of Parliament, oppose so good a Design, as the Union of both Nations, either the Plurality of Voices ought to determine them, according to the Fundamental Law of all Societies, or they should be obliged to shift for other Societies of Men.

Now, supposing that the Parliaments of both Kingdoms are joyn'd in one; and that its Members are empowered to make Laws for the Preservation of this New Government; Amongst many Laws that could be thought upon, these following seems necessary.

First, That the Titles of both Kingdoms be changed into that of *Great Britain*.

2^{ly}, That there be but one Imperial Crown.

3^{ly}, That there be but one Set of Crown-Officers.

4^{ly}, That

4ly, That there be but one Great Seal.

5ly, That as both Nations are one, so they may have both the same Priviledges of Trade: And that none of them be injured by this Law, let all Goods be taxed equally over the whole Island.

6ly, That there be appointed, by the Parliament, a parcel of Lawyers of both Nations, for compiling a Body of Civil Law, out of the Volumes of the Municipal Laws of both Nations, and out of the Common Law, where they are deficient: Which Body of Civil Law shall be ratified by King and Parliament, to have the Force of all other Laws of both Nations. After which, all other Law-Books may be destroyed, according to the Example of the Emperor *Justinian*, when the Body of *Roman* Law was finished. And until such time that a Body of Law be compiled, each Kingdom may make use of its own Laws, without any hinderance to an Union. For its known, that till this day, *Languedock*, *Provence*, *Britaigne* and *Normandy*, tho' they are parts of the same Kingdom, yet their Laws are not of the same Coin,

7ly, Be-

76, Being all Church-Government is indifferent, (as I have endeavoured to prove in the foregoing Essay) the King and Parliament may model one, that will be the most consonant to their Civil Government: To which, if any of the Clergy refuse to submit, let Swords be put in their hands, to determine a Church-Government among themselves; for the Laicks of this Island have drawn too much Blood already upon that Subject, whilst the Clergy only have been amusing themselves with Disputes. If a Church-Government cannot be modelled that will please all Parties of Laicks, there needs be no Breach in the Union of Civil Government; Because, by a Liberty of Conscience in Church-Government, Church-Affairs may be regulated without the least Confusion.

84, Let there be appointed by King and Parliament, a parcel of Divines and Lawyers, for collecting one Body of Canon Law out of the Canons of Councils, the Opinions of the Fathers; and from the Constitutions of both Churches of both Kingdoms, that were made since the Reformation: Which Body of
 Canon

Canon-Law shall be ratified by King and Parliament, to have Force of all other Ecclesiastical Constitutions.

9thly, That Civil and Criminal Judicatures be established over the whole Island, in places, where the Parliament shall find convenient.

10thly, That there be Registers appointed in different places of the Island, for obstructing all false Conveyances of Estates.

Lastly, That the King have but one Privy Council, which for the more Dispatch of Business, can be divided into several standing Committees.

Now, before I shew the Advantages both Nations will gain by an Union; I will make this following Digression of their present States.

England abounds with Grains, Tin, Copper, Lead, Iron, Timber, and all Creatures which furnishes the Commodities of Cloath, Stuffs, Hides, Butter, Cheese, &c.

Scotland, being the most Northward part of the Island, cannot be expected to make so pleasant a Prospect to the Eye, as *England*; Yet it hath Sufficiency of

H

Grains;

Grains, Flax, Wool, and vast number of Cattel, &c. It hath likewise innumerable Mines of Lead, Iron, &c.

Although the Nobility and Gentry of both Kingdoms are the same in Humor, and Conduct of Living; yet there is a great Disparity between the Common People, both as to Humor and Constitution of Body, by reason of their different way of Feeding. The *English* is Self-conceited, Lovers of their Belly, and daring: Whilst the *Scots* are patient, sober in Diet, and hath something of a Timorous Civility.

The Nature of the Civil Governments of both Kingdoms, is almost the same; each of them having its Parliament, to protect its Liberties.

The Number of Persons that have Suffrage in the *English* Parliament, besides twenty six Bishops, are either of Nobility or Commons.

The

The Nobility are

Dukes	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	17
Marquesses	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	3
Earles	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	72
Vilcounts	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	8
Barons	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	65

Sum 165

The Commons are

Commissioners for fourty Shires	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	80
For the twelve Counties of <i>Wales</i>	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	12
For twenty five Cities	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	54
For the eight Cinque-Ports	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	16
For the two Universities	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	04
For an hundred and eighty Burghs	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	332
And Burgeses for <i>Wales</i>	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	012

Sum 510

The Number of Persons that have
 Suffrage in the Scots Parliament, are ei-
 ther Nobility or Commons.

H 2

The

The Nobility are

Dukes	:	:	:	:	4
Marqueſſes	:	:	:	:	4
Earles	:	:	:	:	67
Viſcounts	:	:	:	:	20
Barons	:	:	:	:	45
					<hr/>
<i>Sum</i>					140

The Commons are

Commiſſioners for Shires	:	89
For Cities and for Burrows	:	65
		<hr/>
<i>Sum</i>		154

The Nobility of *Scotland*, not bearing a Proportion to the *English* Nobility, conform to its Riches and Extent of Land, ought to be no Objection againſt an Union of Parliaments; Becauſe, the Nobility of the whole Iſland, becoming Members of the ſame Houſe, will all have the ſame Interſt; And in a little time, by Extinction of Families,

Cre.

Creation of New Ones, and by Change of Estates from one place to another, will be so shuffled, that it will be hard to know, *Which is Which.*

The number of the People of *England*, is calculat to be 5, 500, 000; and that of the People of *Scotland* to be 800, 000.

England at present is not above half Peopled, and, of any Countrey, it is in the least danger to be overstock't with People by reason of its Situation and goodness of Soil.

If *Scotland* were improved by Incloſing &c. it could entertain many more People, than it can at present, and in a short time triple its Land-Rental.

England with *Wales* contains 40, 000, 000, of Acres. The fourth part of them are Heath, Moors, Mountains, and Barren Ground.

Scotland with its Islands contains 24, 000, 000 Acres. Two Thirds of them are Moors, Mountains, and Barren Land.

Having now done with this Digression, let us next see, what Advantages will fall by an Union, first to *England*,
secondly

(54)
secondly to *Scotland*, and thirdly, to both
in Common, when United.

*The Advantages that Eng-
land would reap by an
Union, are*

First, An Augmentation of People ;
for whatever People cannot find En-
tertainment & Employment in *Scotland*,
will chuse rather to go further South,
and serve their own Country, than to
Ramble abroad for a Livelihood : So
that the Number of People, which dies
by Excess and Debauch in and about
London, or the Southern Provinces
would be supplied. And how profi-
table the Multitude of People is to a
Country, that have Employment, and
Entertainment for them, is inexpressible ;
Because, it's the People, that by their
Labour and Industry, makes the Wealth
and Power of every thriving Nation :
Therefore, their increase should be pro-
moted by Wise Conduct and Good
Counsel.

2^{ly}, An Augmentation of Riches; for *England* being the larger and better Kingdom, *Scots* People would rather purchase Estates there, than in *Scotland*. In *England* would be the Metropolis of the whole Island, the Meeting place of Parliament, and of all the Chief Judicatures, thro' which the Treasure of the whole Body Politick must Circulate, as Blood thro' the Heart of a Natural Body.

3^{ly}, As *Scotland* would Increase in Riches, it would be the more able for Taxes, and contributing force both at Sea and Land; for the Sustainance of the whole Body Politick: And consequently *England* would pay less and gain more than at present, when it's obliged to support of it self the whole Character of the King of Great-Britain.

Lastly, *England* would be secure within it self, which can never happen, so long as the Interests of *England* and *Scotland* are different. Nor is it to be expected, That the Union of Crowns can always last in the State they are in at present; Because, it makes too much for the Oppression of *Scotland*. And if

it falls out, that the two Kingdoms are brought into the same Condition, that they were in, before King James his Succession to the Crown of *England*; what can be hop'd, but that all old Animosities will be renewed, to the mutual ruine of both Parties? And even let us suppose, that as *England* is every way Superior to *Scotland*, so it were able to reduce it as a conquered Province; yet *England* shall never gain so much that way, as by a fair Union. For the Country would be depopulat, rendered Inhabitable; and made a Prey to every Nation, that would be at the pains to invade it. Besides, it would cost *England* a great Expence of Blood and Treasure, to defeat so many Thousands of brave Men, that would stand up for the Defence of their Country and Liberties; and the same Army that had conquered them, perhaps may be induced at last, by an Ambitious King, to turn their Swords against their own Country-Men: So that by the same Army, the whole Island would hazard to undergo the same fate. We may therefore with a Demonstration believe that the only
fate

safe way, for *England* to conquer *Scotland*, is by a fair Union.

The Advantages, which Scotland will reap by an Union with England, are

FIRST, its Trade will increase, having as free a Trade over the whole World, as *England*. Which would enable it, not only to Contribute the more for the Safety of the Publick; but to improve all its Barren Ground, to the great Satisfaction and profit of Land-proprietars.

2^{dly}, Its Poor would no longer be a Charge to the Nation; Because, they could be employed in Manufactories and Fisheries.

3^{dly}, The Highlanders could be brought to forefakc their Ancient Customes and Language, and to apply themselves to Virtue and Industry.

Lastly, Courtiers would no longer be a Grievance to the Nation; The

Multitude of Nobility to the Gentry :
 nor them all together to the poor Husband Man. Because, the Interest of the *English* Court would be that of *Scotland*, the *English* and *Scott* Commons could Ballance the Nobility of the whole Island, and the increase of Riches would hinder Estates from being often sold, and Rentals racked: So that the poor Husbandman would be encouraged, to improve his Farm, by a long Lease and easie Duty.

*The Advantages that would
 accrew to the whole Island,
 supposing the Kingdoms
 United, are*

FIRST, It would be, in a Capacity to keep the *Dutch* Low, by managing the *Herring*, and all other Fisheries; that the *British* Subjects could undersell them in all Forreign Mercats, and in time bring them to the same Submission infishing, that they were in, about the beginning of the Reign of King *James* the first, It would likewise be able to encourage all Linnen Manufactories at home, &

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put them in a Case of serving the whole Island: which would preserve a great deal of Treasure in it, that is spent upon that Commodity, in *Holland* and other Countries.

Secondly, It would be in a Capacity to oppose it self to *France*, in Defence either of it's own Interest, or of that of it's Allies; without being in danger of any Domestick Convulsions. All *Europe* is sensible at present, how formidable *France* is to its Neighbours; for its extent of Country, vastness of Treasure, number of Forces by Sea and Land, Bravery of Officers, and for the Wisdom and steady Counsel of its State-Ministers: That if ever Providence hath ordained her the Empire of *Europe*, it must be shortly after the Death of this King of *Spain*. For, according to a private Treaty with its Neighbours, it will be put in peaceable Possession of as many Territories of the *Spanish* Monarchy, as are able to command all the Mediterranean Trade; and no doubt, but it will be at the pains to seize the rest of it, at its own Convenience, and even *Darien* too, which was

so much envied, when in the Possession of the *Scots*: The Right of which would belong to this whole Island, were *Scotland* and *England* United: And how much it were for the Interest of *Great-Britain*, to be Master of that *Isle*, is obvious to every Coffee-house Politician, in sight of all our more refined Wits.

To oppose the Union of *England* and *Scotland*, there are different Nations of different ends.

First, Most of our Popish Neighbours, out of this Maxim, That when People differ in Interest, they will never trust other upon point of Religion; being obliged to transgress all its Rules by Treachery, Cruelty, and other unlawful Means, in protecting, and advancing their worldly Interests. Now how much the Church of *Rome* Glories in seeing the Protestants destroy one another, is best known to themselves.

Secondly, The *Dutch* will oppose it with all their Power and Cunning, for preventing the strengthening of this whole Island, in Force and Riches, by the ruining their Fisheries; which provides

vides them with Sea-men and Money;
and the undoing their Linnen Manu-
factories at home.

The Dutch of all People understands
their Interest the best, and stumble least
at any thing makes for their Publick
Good; otherwise, why would they have
attempted the whole Trade of the East-
Indies, by the Massacre of the English
at Amboina? Or the Dominion of the
whole Seas, after that the Troubles of
England and Scotland had disabled King
Charles the First from taking notice of
it, and that the English Government
was shaken in pieces, after its Altera-
tion.

Lastly, The French will oppose any
Union betwixt England and Scotland,
and rather than it should succeed, will
follow Cardinal Richelieu's Practice, in
corrupting Leading Men in both Na-
tions, to foment Jealousies between them;
or in hiring some Mercenary English
Poet or Historian, to represent Scot-
land, with all the Rancour that ill Na-
ture and Ignorance can inspire in
them.

The

: The *French* for many years have baulked nothing, that could raise their Monarchy above the Powers of their Neighbours; and nothing hath been more formidable to their Designs, than the Joint Force of the Island of *Great-Britain*; when *England* alone had broke their Measures long ere now, and brought them to Reason, if it had not had Diversion at Home, occasioned so often by *French* Counsel. It's long since *Philip de Comenes* said, That in his time, all the King of *England*'s Ministers, and great Persons, had Pensions of *France*, and gave their Acquitrances upon every Receipt, which were to be seen in the Chamber of *Paris*.

I shall now end this short Essay, having no other Design by it, than the Prosperity of *Great-Britain*; and hopes, that some Judicious Unbyassed Persons (as the Learned Doctor *Davenant*, who hath writ so many good Books for the Service of his Countrey) will be at the Pains, to handle this Subject in all its Particulars: That all Doubts being removed from the People of both Nations, there remain nothing to be done, but the

the Action of Uniting. And till they be convinced of the absolute Necessity of it, my Wish is, That *England* be outwitted in its Politicks by all its Neighbours, and cheated by its States-Men, into a fond Belief of its own Abilities: And that *Scotland* continue an oppressed Nation, by Courtiers and Publicans, and never have a State-Council, but of Mock-Politicians and Enemies to their Countrey.

Vis Unita Fortior!

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the Affliction of Uniting. And till they
be convinced of the absolute Necessity
of it, my Wish is That England be out-
witted in her Politics by all its Neigh-
bours, and cheated by its States-Men,
into a total Belief of its own Abilities:
And that Scotland continue an oppressed
Nation, by Courtiers and Publicans,
and never have a State-Council, but of
Mock-Politicians and Enemies to their
Country.

Vis Unite Fortior.

And now I have a great deal to say
to you, my Friends, and I shall be
very glad to hear from you again.
I am, my Friends, your most
affectionate Friend,
A. N.

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ESSAY

UPON THE

PRESENT STATE

OF

SCOTLAND.

IT's observable, that there's a great Variety in Men, both as to their Bodies and Souls, conform to the different Situation of the Countries they inhabit; upon which account it is, that they differ so much in their Dispositions to Courage, Justice, Temperance, Wit and Goodness. And their Souls are yet more various than their Bodies, that there appears sometimes a greater difference betwixt some Men and others, than betwixt some Men and Beasts. And as there's a great Variety betwixt Men of different Clim's, in respect of their Souls and Bodies, so is there a great

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Disparity amongst Apprehensions and Understandings of the People of the same Countrey, proportionable to their Education; which is the Reason, that their Thoughts of things are not all of the same Reach and Justness.

There's no Society without its Members, amongst whom, as there is a Sub-Ordination of Understandings, so there's a Sub-Ordination of Power and Command, proportionable to the different Stations they hold in that Society, whereof they are Members. And hence it is, That there are in every Kingdom (as it is a Society.) People of all Characters, which taken all together, make up the Body Politick. Being then I'm to writ this Essay of the present State of *Scotland*, I will give a short View, both of its People, and of their Affairs, in the following Sections.

SECTION.

SECTION. I.

Of the Education of Youth.

AS the strongest Bodies owe their Vigour, in a great Measure, to the first knitting of their Joynts, and the most stately Trees are beholding to the hand that first planted them in an agreeable Soil; So do Men owe, whatever Esteem they acquire in this World to their Education: The Impressions of which are strong, grow up with them from their Cradle, and accompany them to their very Graves. Hence is it, That the most wise and understanding Law-givers of different Nations thought it their noblest Work, to prescribe Rules for the early Institution of Youth.

The Number of Schools and Universities in *Scotland*, is enough to impose upon the World, that there are used in them all the reasonable Means for instructing of young People in Languages, Arts and Sciences; But when one comes to examine the Methods and Formalities

ties of Masters in Teaching, he will soon be undeceived.

To look into a Grammar-School, one will find an Assembly of Boys of different Capacities smuttering of Latin, one who hath spent four Years at School, another three, and a third more or less; yet there shall not be one of forty, who hath made the Proficiency in the Latin, that another Boy will do in any Modern Language with half a Years teaching. Surely there must be some Reason for this, that either proceeds from the Difficulty of that Language, or from some other Cause. But that the Latin is attainable in a short time, we have the Example of many young People, and likewise of *Accursius*, the Famous Lawyer, who was forty Years old, when he first studied Latin; Nevertheless he hath left some Volumes to the World in that Language.

The Causes therefore of Childrens slow Progress in the Latin, to me seem to be,

First, The Formality and Affectation of Parents putting their Children too young to School, before they have the

the Sense or Patience to apply themselves or, without considering whether they design them for Employments that require no Knowledge of Latin.

Secondly, The wrong and pedantick Method Schoolmasters take in teaching their Scholars; For how absurd is it, that they should teach them *Latin*, in the same Tongue they do not understand? and after a very tedious manner, charge their Memories with Rules and Precepts, which they no sooner learn, than they forget.

Next, To examine the way of Teaching in our Colledges, we will find that young Students bestow only half a year upon the Greek, (which is so useful a Language to the Learned) and allow three years to learn Errour and Nonsense. For in place of *Euclid's* Elements, and a good System of Experimental Philosophy, they study large Volumes of Logicks and Metaphysicks; which are fit only to subtilize their Brains, being the true Cob-web-learning of this World, soon wrought and soon forgot.

Soing

Seeing that the Education of Youth contributes so much to the making Men capable, either to serve themselves, or their Country; The Commissioners, appointed to visit Schools & Colledges, ought to take special Care both to oblige Masters to practise good Methods in Teaching, and to encourage most the learning of Mathematicks, and parts of Experimental Philosophy: Because its from them we have our Learned Physicians, Mechanicks, Sea-men & Engineers, which are of more value to the Publick, than thinking Men that are Learned only in Triffles, and who chuse the study of General Physicks and Metaphysicks for Disput's sake.

It were for the Advantage of this Nation, That no Boys be put to learn *Latin*, that are designed by their Parents or Friends, to be Merchants, Mechanicks, or Husband-men; For how ridiculous is it, that they should consume so many years in learning a Language (which is forgot in one year, if not practised) and neglect the study of their own Language, and other Modern Languages, Cyphering, and a fair hand
of

of Writing which are useful to all Men according to their respective Employments. And it's the great Happiness of every Society, that each Member be dexterous in his own business and mind in only.

Cardinal de Renon was for suppressing in France many of its Universities; because they gave too much Occasion and Temptation to all sorts of People to become Smatterers of Learning. For tho' the knowledge of Letters is absolutely necessary in a Common Weakth, yet they ought not to be prostitute to every Body without Distinction; For, if all the Inhabitants of a State were Learned, Trade would decay, Husbandry would no more be in fashion: And in their places would succeed, Disobedience, much Pride and Presumption.

When we have so great a love here to the Civil Law, that every Gentleman that hath two Sons, is sure to design one to be a Lawyer from his very Cradle: I wish therefore, That means were fall'n on, to Erect Professions of it in all our Universities: And that

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Encouragements were given to Learned
 Citizens, to set up amongst us, which
 would keep in the Nation much Money.
 And Students, that have no Inclination
 to Travel, may profit here as well as in
Holland or *France*, and preserve a third
 part, or half of their Patrimonies, they
 would have spent abroad. Nor is there
 any hazard that such Professions, will
 over-charge the Honourable Faculty of
 Lawyers, with too many Members;
 being that humour of following the
 Law will grow, only as People find,
 that there's more Business than Advoca-
 tats: Which, at present, is not the
 Misfortune of *Scotland*.

The most reasonable way to provide
 a Fund for the Professors of Law, is
 out of the Bishops Rents; so as there
 are four Universities in this Kingdom,
 there may be a Profession of Civil Law
 at every one of them: Who ought to
 have a Salary not under 200 *lib* *Stell*:
 per annum, to make up their small Num-
 ber of Scholars, and to enable them to
 make their study their whole business.
 Were it not then more for the Honour
 and Advantage of this Nation, that
 Bishops

Bishops, Nobles, &c. to be applied, rather than in Persons, and other such ways of respect to the wisdom of that Nation, which he employed in bringing home Wines and other such Commodities.

modest, that exhibit the ready Money that is brought in by its

SECTION II.
Of the Commons

given to the power of them; and in feed

The Commons of Scotland

the greatest Bulk of the Goods

Riches and Ease, that this Kingdom

can suffer be called Rich, Powerful, and

Happy. To consider them, therefore, particularly, will divide them into

Merchants, Mechanicks, and Husbandmen.

very Commodity that can make them

Merchants, for the most part, apply themselves to their Business in proportion to the little Trade of this Country;

but where there is one makes a Fortune that way, there are three can Bankrupt.

The Reasons of which are, that they have since we began to Trade, few have applied themselves to Trade, that are Men of Families and

For

Fortunes, but for all any Gentleman applies himself, but some younger Brother, that hath a Stock of 300, or 400, *lib. sterl.* which he Employeth in bringing home Wines and other superfluous Commodities, that exhaust the ready Money thats brought into the Kingdom by its Linnen, Wool, Lead, Fish, &c. Which Commodities, when sold, must be given to the buyer of them; and in stead of a ready Return to the Merchant of his stock and profit, for buying new Commodities, he must consume them both in Expectation, by Eating and Drinking. It were then advantageous for young Merchants, that they would employ most of their Stocks in home Manufactories and Fisheries, and in every Commodity that can make the Export of this Kingdom considerable; So that Money being kept at home, the return for their Effects will be more frequent. For in every trading Nation, a Merchant of a small Stock grows Rich, by frequent buying of Goods, and receiving a quick return for them, when sold either in Credit, Goods, or ready Money.

Secondly,

Secondly, So soon as a Merchant hath Scrap'd together a piece of Money, perhaps to the value of 1000, or 5000 *lib. Sterk*, Instead of employing it for promoting Trade, or by projecting any new thing, that may be serviceable to his Country, and to the augmenting of his Stock, nothing will satisfy him, but the laying of it out upon a Land Estate, for having the Honour to make his Son a Laird, that is, an idle Person, who can find out as many Methods in Spending his Fathers Money, as he had of gaining it.

Lastly, Our Gentlemens Sons, who are bred Merchants, do not live frugally and proportionably to their gain, after the example of the *Dutch*, to whom one Pence saved is so much Profit.

So many are the Abuses and Blunders that are committed in the Trade of this Nation, by particular Men's pursuing their Interests and Humours to the Publick Good; That to retrieve them from that Vice, and to bring the Trade of the Nation to any Proportion with that of our Neighbours, there remains

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but one Expedient, That is, The
proposing a Council of Trade, which
may be of such a Constitution, that by
it some Manufactories and Fisheries
may be encouraged, our poor employed,
The Exportation of Wool &c, Law-
fully decided, sumptuary amongst Mer-
chants, Interest of Money lowered,
and the price of Grains so regulated, that
the Poor be not sensible of their Dearths
in bad years, nor the Rich of their
Cheapness in good ones. Therefore,
it is inexpedient, how much this Na-
tion would be obliged to any person
would contrive a good and rational
Scheme of Constitution for such a Coun-
cill, and to that Parliament that would
give it a Being.
But because such a Council cannot be
established of a sudden, let all the No-
bility and Gentry of this Nation, in
the mean time encourage Manufacto-
ries and Trade by their Frugality and
Industry, according to a *Resolue*, which
was lately invented by a parcel of good
Countrymen. Because, People are
more Zealous in observing any thing, to
which they personally Promise, and of
whose

whose Reasonableness they are perswa-
ded. Than they are of Sumptuary Laws,
which either they never hear of, or are suf-
fered to forget, for fault of due Execution.
Scotland, at present, ought to be con-
sidered as a Man that hath spent most
of his Estate in Trifles and Idleness, and
that hath no other Means left him, but
Pinch and good Conduct, for the fu-
ture.

The second kind of Commons to be
considered are the Mechanicks, which
are Men both capable of Invention and
Application; therefore no doubt, did
Trade flourish, there would be no ne-
cessity of bringing home so many ma-
nufactured things, as at present. And
that every *Scott-man* might be furnished
at home with all sort of Household Furni-
ture, all kind of Arms, and with every
thing Humane Taste or Fancy requires.

The third kind of Commons are the
Husband-men, which in my Opinion
are the most miserable of all our Com-
mons; and I believe, we have learned
that Method of oppressing our Peasants,
from the *French*, amongst many other
of their good Customs.

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provide

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The reason of this Oppression proceeds from small Farms and high-valued Duties. For the Poverty of this Nation, and the smallness of Trade doth occasion, That Land-Estates are frequently shifted from hand to hand, the present Masters making all they can, so long as they keep Possession of them: And are sure to rack every Tenant in his Duty, when they are disposed to sell them, for drawing the greater Price from the Buyers. Who so soon as they are Masters of their new Purchases, are not at the Pains to consider the Nature of their Soils, whether they are capable to produce both their Duties and a Livelihood to the Husband-men; but go on after such a manner, that in few Years nothing will answer their Tenants Arrears, but the seizing of all they have, and turning them a begging, with a numerous Family. Which is an Injury not only done to the poor Tenants, but to the People, who must provide for their Subsistence by Charity.

As Husbandry is the greatest Riches of this State, so it ought to contribute with all its power to maintain it, and provide,

provide, that all Laws made for its Im-
 provement, be put to due Execution. and
 it is therefore requisite, that there were
 appointed, by Act of Parliament, some
 Judicious Gentlemen of every County,
 to be chosen annually by Land Proprie-
 tors of 40 Pounds *Sterlin* a Year, and
 above, who should have power to de-
 cide all Controversies arising betwix
 Master and Tenant, (for it is not just
 that the Master should be both Judge
 and Party, as it often happens in Barons
 Courts) and to inquire into the Rental
 of every Heriot: That so they may
 provide, that no Farms be over-valued
 according to the Caprice of the Masters
 when he gives new Leases. And such
 an Inquisition would be no Imposition
 on Gentlemen, because, they would be
 only hindered from abusing their own
 to the prejudice of the Publick: Accord-
 ing to that Maxim of Law, *Reipublice
 interest, ne quis re sua male utatur.*

And it would be the Advantage of the
 Master, not only to set reasonable Du-
 ties on his Farms, whereby the Husband-
 man may be both able and encouraged
 to improve his Estate, by all kinds of
 Inclo-

Inclosure of his Estate, as parcel out
his Estate into as few Farms, as he can
conveniently. For, if a Farm, that pays
20 Pounds Sterling a Year, hath as great
a Family to entertain, as a Farm that
pays 40 Pounds Sterling yearly, he that
payeth the 20 Pounds can never be in so
good a Case, either to pay his Master,
or to cultivate his Farm, as he that pays
40 Pounds, who hath not only
double his Profit, but likewise, as small
a Family to entertain. And
A Gentleman then, that would take
reasonable Methods to improve his Land
Estate, ought never to lighten his Ten-
ants, but proportionably to the improve-
ment of their Farms. Which in a few
Years, could be so improv'd, that the
Rental of his Estate can be doubled,
without Hazard of making any Beg-
gers.

And it would be the Advantage of the
Matter, not only to let reasonable Ten-
ants, whereby the Husband-
man may be both able and encouraged
to improve his Estate, by all kinds of
Inclosure.

provide.

SECTION. III.

Of the Clergy.

THE first Foundation of the Happiness of a State, is the Establishment of the Reign of God, to whose immediat Servants (who are the Clergy) we owe all the Honour and Respect, the Love of Religion can inspire into us; provided, they are distinguishable from other People, by the Character of their Office, which is composed of Christian Virtues: Such as Innocence of Life, Soundness of Doctrine in things essential to Salvation, and Love and Charity to all Men. And by these Virtues it was, that the first Preachers of the Gospel did gain Credit to the Christian Religion, from the most obstinate Heathen Philosophers.

The most of the Clergy of *Scotland* are Men of mean Extraction, and owe to their Education, their Opiniatritie in things indifferent: For what must be expected from Men, that never read any Authors, but those that make for that Party, their

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Fathers or Friends have design'd them to follow, but that they will Dispute for it, so long as conveniently they can? And when ever Reason fails them, they'll protect it with all the Passions and Impertinencies imaginable. And hence is the Reason, that most part of the Divines, that are educat in the Northern Universities, amongst the Northern Gentry, are inclined to the Episcopal Government; Whilst, many of those, that are educat in the Southern Universities, are inclined to the Presbyterian.

It's strange that Men have been so extravagant, and made such Stirs in this World, about the things of another, that instead of making us happy here, as well as hereafter; by following the Fundamental Rule of Christian Religion, to *Love the Lord our God with all our Hearts, and our Neighbours as our Selves*: We have only practis'd a Rule much contrary, to hate and destroy our Neighbour, for Zeal to God's Worship. Which no doubt hath given Occasion to Unthinking Men, frequently to let pass for good Coin, this Saying; *Fallere vis Plebem, Finge Deum*.

Was it not sufficient, That, by the Reformation, most of the People of this Kingdom have ben brought to the true Knowledge of the Christian Religion? What then hath occasioned the one half of the Reformed so to separat from the other, in the mutual Duty of Love and Charity, which both the same Countrey and Religion obliged them to observe? Or, why hath this Disease of Church-Government so affected this Kingdom, as to destroy its natural Force, to ruine all Prospect of Trade, to give so often Temptation to our Kings to encroach upon our Liberties, and to fill the Learned World, with many useless Volumes and hundreds of ridiculous Pamphlers.

In *Scotland*, the Religion, before the Reformation, was that of *Rome*; the Care and Pains of whose Priests were spent in enlarging their Wealth and Authority, and not in informing the Minds of the People in Piety and Honesty.

That Religion was so adorned with Gaudy Ceremonies, that the Splendor and Pomp of them served only to amuse the Minds of the Common People, who, like Men in an Amazement or Wonder,

could never recollect themselves, for examining which was the true Religion.

Its Priests did challenge the Remission of Sins; and took the Liberty both to number and to tax them; so that, if the Party Confessing was Rich, *Paradise* did go at a great rate: And if the Party was Poor, the Priests did exercise their Authority, with the greater Severity. It hath been a great Advantage to the *Romish* Clergy, that they had the Wit to invent the Mass; for, who can forbear the paying a profound respect to them, that by a Whisper can produce so *Venerable a Victim*? The number of the Sacraments was invented for Priests, to squeeze the Pockets of the Laicks, and Good Works to be a Spur, to excite their Ambitious Piety to enrich the Church. Purgatory was invented to make separat Souls a Merchandable Commoditie, and the Invocation of Saints, to increase the Authority of the Clergy, who, by their Suffrage, could advance any Body they pleased, to the Court of Heaven.

But, at present, to give the *Romish* Hierarchy its due, since the Heat and Defecti-

Defection of the first Reformers was over, it hath so recollected the Remains of its broken Forces, with Care and Industry, and managed its Affairs with so much Subtily; that if the Reformed do not lay aside all their Trifling Disputes about Church-Government, &c. It may happen, that sometime or other, (without a Miracle) they may lose their Ground, which they have maintained so long with Expence of much Blood.

That the Kingdom may be the better served with Judicious and Learned Ministers, it's necessary that, all small Salaries be Augmented, to preserve them from the Temptation of Poverty; and that there may be Inspectors, appointed for all the Universities of this Nation, who shall have power to Nominate Students to study Theology: And that none be admitted to follow the Ministry, but those that are appointed by them. And by such a Method, this Church will not have the Misfortune to be pestered with Blockheads, nor the Civil Government to be deprived of good Men, whom Nature hath ordained to be Mechanicks, or Husbandmen.

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SECTION IV. Of the Nobility and Gentry.

THe Nobility and Gentry are the best Blood and Spirits of any Body Politick, and ought to be respected as the preservers of its Life and Vigor. For, its their duty to maintain Piety and Justice, to support their Country with their Wealth and Sword, to protect the poor from the Insolence of Oppressors, and to follow Virtue and Honour, as the only Badge capable to distinguish them from the rest of their fellow Subjects.

The Nobility and Gentry of this Kingdom, have always had the Reputation of brave Men, and good Scholars, nor ought it to be otherwise; seeing they have all the Education this Country can afford, and the most of them have likewise the advantage of Travelling abroad, to learn any thing that is capable to improve their Knowledge.

ledge in Men or Things. But now a-days, for want of Business to apply themselves, they either lose the fruits of their Education, by Law-Suits, or by reading a *Horace* or *Juvenal*, or, by smothering them altogether in a Bottle.

But how great an Obligation lies upon them to apply themselves, at present, to support their poor Country, and to sacrifice to the Publick Good all Misunderstandings occasioned amongst them, either by Religion or Ambition, appears from these following Considerations.

First, they ought to meddle with Church-Government, no further than it affects the Civil Government, or tends to give the Supream Power an Opportunity to encroach upon their Liberties. Therefore, they ought all to protect that Church Government, which makes most for their secular Advantages, and encourages least the Clergy in Luxurie or Ambition. And of such Qualities is the Presbyterian Church-Government here established by Law.

Secondly, The Nobility and Gentry are the Springs and Wheels by which all the Affairs of this Nation move, and with-

without their Concurrence, no good or bad Law can be made; no King can encroach upon the Priviledges of the Subject; Nor no Revolution of Government can happen to the Kingdom; Therefore they ought to let pass no Law in Parliament, which is not for the Interest of their Country, nor quit any Priviledge that may give occasion to their Successors to Complain of their Folly, or Injustice; Nor ought they to endeavour any Revolution of Government, which is not with a Demonstration for their Countries benefit.

Thirdly, They have most of all the Treasure of this Kingdom amongst them; Therefore, it's their Duty to improve their Estates by all the means, that Art or Industry can suggest unto them. And to promot Trade, by encouraging Manufactories and Fisheries with their Money. For, suppose a Gentleman hath Five Hundred Pound Sterline free Rent *per annum*; what is it, for him to imploy a 1000 *l. sterl.* for a Stock in Trade? And so propor-

tionably

tionably to their Estates, may all Gentlemen imploy Sums of Money.

Lastly, It's their Motion and Example that Influence all other People of a meaner Character ; So that it may be justly said, that all the Advantages, or Misfortunes which have befall'n this Kingdom, are to be Attribute to the Conduct of its Nobility and Gentry. For had they always been of the same honest principles, designing nothing but the publick Good, how happy had this Nation been long ere now ? And how much regarded by all *Europe* ?

SECTION. V.

Of the King and Parliament.

AS every Natural Body is capable of certain intervals of Health and Sicknes, so every Body Politick, and each of them requires it's Physitian to remove every thing that's a let to the Operation of its Nature ; with this Difference, that a Natural Physitian works both for a Livelyhood ro himself,

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and for bringing his patient to the best habite of Body his Art is Capable; whilst a State Physitian, in place of curing the Body politick, (of which he hath the Inspection and Management) forgets to keep to its Fundamental Laws, which are the true Rules of Politicks, and follows his own Ambition and Fancies: Which either destroy it altogether by inward Convulsions, or change its Nature so far, that its hardly to be known for the same Body.

Every Body Politick hath its different Physitian, conform to the Nature of its Constitution. An absolute Monarchy hath its King, who is so much Master of his Patient, that he can breath a Vein, when he finds it suits best with his Inclinations. A limited Monarchy hath its Parliament for Physitian, whose chief business is to preserve a Symmetrie betwixt the Body and Head, that neither of them exceed its due bounds.

The Government of *Scotland* is a limited Monarchy, by the Conduct of whose Parliament both King and Country can be happy. But, alas! how seldom does it happen, that the Mem-
bers

bers of that August Assembly, who are Men of different Educations, Tempers, Understandings, Offices, Employments, have all the same end in their View: which ought to be the Common Good and Honour of this Nation.

In one Kings Reign we find the Parliament encroaching upon his prerogative, and in the Reign of another, we see it so abject as to sacrifice to him their Privileges: Examples of both are the Reigns of *Charles* the first and second: for, what necessity was there, to drive so hard after the year 1638, that their poor King became a Victim to his Enemies? Or to sink so far into Fondness, that King *Charles* the second had in his power to encroach upon the Liberties of this Nation to that height, that Oppression itself might have been palliat with the *jus Regium*.

The unsteddy proceedings of Parliaments have given occasion to the greatest Wits, to condemn every thing of mixt Governments, and to lay down rules for bringing them under the absolute power of their Monarchs: which

hath been practised by most of the Princes of Europe, according to the different Circumstances and Humours of their Subjects.

The Kings of *France* Lewis 13th. and 14th. after the Advice of Cardinal *Richelieu*, did ruine first their Nobility and Gentry, by wheedling them into posts of the Army, where they could squander away their Estates, to the end that they might depend upon the Court for a Livelyhood; and did so much harraß the whole body of their People with Persecutions and Taxes, to make it for ever incapable to struggle for Liberty.

The Kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark* secured first their Clergy, next the Consciences of the Common People, and lastly did destroy most of the Ancient Families of their Nobility and Gentry.

The many Popular Furies which have raged in this Island, have no doubt been great Motives to our Kings, to approach as near our Priviledges, as conveniently they could. King *James* the First of *Great-Britain* endeavoured to
screw

screw his Prerogative, as far as the People would suffer him; for he thought nothing of Imprisoning Members of the *English* Parliament, or to issue out Proclamations, prohibiting his Subjects to talk of State Affairs: Tho' in the meantime, he was acting against the Interest of his Kingdoms. And the late King *James* seems to have had a great Itch after an absolute Power, when his introducing Popery was the principal Step could have been made for that end; because of the Multitude of Church-Men, and the Decay of Trade, which for the most part are unseparable from that Religion. But it would appear, that the Reason our Kings have so often been baulked of their Designs to teach their Subjects the *Practical* Rules of Passive Obedience, hath been the want of Money, and a powerful standing Army: Nevertheless they have attacked us on our blind-side, which was to divide the People of this Kingdom amongst themselves, and then to espouse a Party, which was sufficient to plunge any Country into the greatest Misery, by leaving the Publick Good neglected, and
 nothing

nothing to be sought after, but Revenge and Interest.

King *William* came to this Island, when both its Affairs, and those of other Princes of *Europe* did require him; then was it, that an Occasion offered it self to the *Scots*, for putting their Countrey in a State of Thriving, and for curing all the Defects of its Government; But Providence so ordered it, that they were divided amongst themselves, and rendered incapable to unite in Counsel for promoting the Publick Good. They were therefore lyable to be led away, whether the greatest Faction pleased; which Faction divided in Imagination the Spoil of their Countrey, and shared all Places of Publick Trust amongst one another, before ever they were determined to offer the Crown to his present Majesty: Who is a Prince of an Illustrious Family, and merits to be ranked among the greatest Men of his time. I hope therefore, whatever Historian takes upon him, to celebrate and perpetuate to Posterity his Heroick Actions, will do him Justice, by giving a true and genuine Account to the World, both of his

Virtues

Virtues and Vices: That the one may serve to set off the other, as dark Shadows do the best Pictures.

SECTION. VI.

That a mixt Government cannot increase in Wealth and Power, but by the Honesty and Wisdom of its Members of Parliament.

IF one were to play the Philosopher, he might, for Disput's sake, tell us, That the Subjects of all Governments are equally happy, provided they be not sensible of their present Misery; As for Example, that a French-Peasant, who hath coarse Bread to fill his Belly, and Canvas-Cloaths, and Wooden-Shoes to protect him from bad Weather, is as much obliged to Fortune, as an *English* Farmer, who can smoke his Pipe, and talk of Liberty and Property at random.

Yet

Yet if we lay aside the Theory, and consider the Practice of People, we will read in all Histories, that every Nation of *Europe*, which at this day hath no Vestiges of its ancient Government, has struggled with its Kings for Liberty, to the last Breath: An Instance of this are the *French*, who, ever since the Reign of *Lewis the 11th*, have been attaqued in their Liberties, by succeeding Kings, and could never be forced to succumb, till the Reign of this present King: Who hath taken all Opportunities to execute Cardinal *Richelieu's* Political Testament, by arming his Popish Subjects against those of the Reform'd Religion, by accustoming his Peasants to exorbitant Taxes and Poverty, and by bringing the greatest of his Subjects to depend upon his Pleasure for a Livelyhood.

Is there any Man, that hath the good luck to be born a Subject to a Limited Monarch, who compares the Circumstances of one that liveth under a Tyrant with his own, but will bless his Stars, and acknowledge himself much happier in his Practice of Liberty, than
Any

any Slave can be in its Shadow of
Theory.

All Governments, by the Corruption
of their Parts, are lyable to many
Convulsions, and even to be changed
at last into Tyrannies, if the Nature of
their Constitutions do not guard against
them.

We therefore, in *Scotland*, are obli-
ged to our Fore-Fathers, that have left
us a Government which is Limited Mo-
narchy; and in which, the Prerogative
of the Prince, and the Liberty of the
People are so well regulat, that there
seems nothing wanting, that may tend
to the Happiness of either, but Honesty
and Wisdom in the Members of Parlia-
ment. For *Rome* was never enslaved
by its Princes, till the Senat delivered
up its Priviledges to *Julius Caesar*: Who
was then put in a Condition, to curb
the Liberties of all the Unthinking People
of the *Roman* Empire, with Forms and
Names in place of wholesome Laws.

I may say, with Regret, that it hath
been our Unhappiness, ever since the
Restoration of King *Charles* the Second;
that our Liberties have been exposed, by

the Unlucky Division of our Parliaments into two Factions: Whereof the one was called the Court-Faction, and the other, that of the Countrey.

The Court-Faction was a Party of Men, who, under Pretence of Zeal to the Service of their King, destroy'd their Countrey; by corrupting Members of Parliament, by dividing the Spoils of the Publick Treasury amongst themselves and Minions; and neglecting every thing that could promote the Trade of this Nation, or provide a Livelyhood to its Poor.

That Faction was composed of Men, who had different Motives to comply with Dishonest Practices: One, out of Simplicity and good Nature, hoping, that by laying Taxes on his Countrey, he did his Majesty good Service. Another, out of an Inclination he had to be a Knave: And a third, out of a Desire to gain Self, thinking it time enough to serve the Publick, when once he had served himself.

The Countrey-Faction was a parcel of Members of Parliament, who thought it their Duty to keep the Legislative Power untainted, to be Jealous of the Peoples

Peoples Liberties and Rights, and to be careful for the Publick Safety; by watching over the Ministers of State, that they should not embezzle the Publick Money, by employing it to corrupt Members of Parliament, or to maintain a standing Army, to bully the People out of their Senes.

These Members, that made up that Party, have moved according to different Principles; for one hath acted out of pure and sincere Love to his Countrey, another out of Hatred and Malice to Statesmen, and a third out of Design to ruine the Government, in which he was not employed: Of what a Medley of Men then, hath that Countrey-Faction been composed? Nevertheless, People ought to make no Distinction amongst them, so long as they all promote the Publick Interest; because they will have time enough to discern the Dregs of a Faction, so soon as they separat from the pure Body.

Now after the Description of the fore-said Factions, Methinks, that 'tis the Countrey-Faction, which ought to be cherished and esteemed by all their Constituents,

Situenta, as Men that act both out of
 Conscience and Honour, knowing that
 the Freedom and Wealth of every State
 go hand in hand together. And it hath
 been often seen amongst our Fore-fathers,
 that this Faction hath maintained both
 the Prerogative of their Kings, and the
 Liberties of their Countrey: Whilst the
 Court part hath found it convenient, to
 retire into the Shadows of Oblivion.
 'Tis strange, that most of our Cour-
 tiers, for near these hundred Years,
 have been so much in Love with their
 privat Interest, and valued so little that
 of the Publick, that long ago, it hath
 been a Problem in *Scotland*, whether
 Parliaments were useful or not; because,
 the first thing proposed there, hath been
 always (next to Religion) a Subsidy
 for his Majesty: And which was both
 proposed and granted in one day, with-
 out the Members of Parliament taking
 the Pains to examine, to what use it
 should be employed, or to calculat a
 just Sum for the same use. And hence
 is the Reason, that Money given by Par-
 liaments to their Kings, hath served on-
 ly to be a Bait and Reward for Covetous
 Courti-

Couriers to betray their Countrey, and for the Insolent Tacksmen, to oppress the Poor People.

At this rate, I confess, Parliaments are meer empty shadows of Liberty. When a Commissioner and Secretary could have asked His Majesty his Commands for *Scotland*, and at the same time engaged to secure the Major party of Parliament with Places and Promises, that it would be always in a readiness to Vote what ever way the Court pleased.

A mixt Government hath the Advantage of all other Governments; For, if Members of Parliament do but their Duty, it's impossible that ever it can hazard to be brought under the Tyrannie of its Monarch. But if the Members be debauch'd with Principles of Self-interest, and suffer the Nations Treasure to be wasted, Secretaries of State to undermine our Privileges, and Trade to be neglected; I say, That such a mixt Government is a Tyrannie established by our selves: And that no King ought to be blamed for drawing us after him, with our own Fetters of Slavery. Its

It is therefore, that the principal points of the Duty of Members of Parliament are,

First, That they be Men unbiassed, and uncorrupt, preferring the Safety and Interest of the Country to any Self-love.

Secondly, That they endeavour to make good Laws that may both secure the Subjects Property, and promote the publick Good.

Thirdly, That they never grant a Subsidy, without knowing the Reason why, and how it is to be applyed for the Nations benefit.

Fourthly, That the succeeding Session of Parliament call to an exact account the Managers of the Subsidies granted by the preceeding Session; So that Courtiers may be prevented from disposing upon Pensions at pleasure, and the Publicans from imposing upon the Courtiers, by pretending that they are losers in collecting of Taxes.

Fifthly, That they impeach every great Man, who dare pursue destructive Measures, either against the Kings Honour, or the Countries Interest.

If these Maxims be stoddily followed by our Parliaments, then will Scotland be sensible, how necessary they are to promote every thing that tends to its Safety, Honour, and increase of Wealth; and how many Advantages a mixt Government hath above that of an Absolute Monarchy.

that all the Honourable Members continue in the same good Sentiments this ensuing Session, making only their Conferences, and giving

SECTION VII.

What Measures this present Parliament ought to take for recovering the Abuses of former Reigns, and putting this Nation into a constant Course of Thriving.

WHere I skilful in making Panegyrics, I don't see how I could employ my Wit and Talent better, than in praising those Members who in the last Session of Parliament did begin to put a Stop to that Imprudent Method,

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we have always had, of raising Taxes from the People; without considering the State of the Nation, and whether or not it was in a Condition, by its Trade, to maintain as many Pensioners and Forces, as it had done during the late War with *France*. I wish therefore that all the Honourable Members may continue in the same good Sentiments this ensuing Session, minding only their Countries Business, and believing that to be the best way both to serve His Majesty and themselves.

'Tis an hard Task for any knowing Physician to give a just Advice for recovering any Patient that hath been long Hectick; much more is it for any privat Man, to lay down an exact Method to a Parliament (whose Constitution hath been almost changed by the supine negligence of its Members) for putting it self & succeeding Parliaments upon so good a Foot, that neither the too much Complaisance for their Kings, nor the Treachery of any that is entrusted with publick Employments, can be able to shake them.

How.

However, being that every one is obliged in duty to contribute both in Advice, and any other thing, to the support of that Society, whereof he is a Member: My Advice then to the ensuing Session of Parliament is as followeth.

First, That there be an Act, for a Biennial Parliament, that may sit two Months once in the two years, (without the Kings having power to Adjourn it for the said two Months) and which in the beginning of the third year, shall be dissolved: His Majesty at the same time, empowering all Counties and Burroughs, to choose new Commissioners for the following Biennial Parliament. By such an Act, Grievances will be redressed, and the Business of the Nation taken care of: Because, every succeeding Parliament will cause the Acts of former Parliaments to be put in Execution: Nor will it be worth the pains of States-men and Courtiers to corrupt Members of Parliament, their power being but of a small continuance, and Parliaments will also have the liberty to sit and do Business, without the

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trouble

trouble of Being Adjourned from day to day. For in my humble Opinion, if Parliaments cannot sit and do Business, I don't know for what use they serve.

Secondly, That there be an Act for a *Habeas Corpus*, conceived much after the Tenour of that of the *English*. Which Act will first encourage Men both to speak and Writ their Sentiments concerning the Interest of the publick, without being afraid of the Censure or Displeasure of Men in power, for every body knows how much the Liberty of the Press doth Contribute for exposing the Truth, and giving political Spectacles to every Honest Man, by which he can see the Corruptions of Statesmen and guard against their supprises. And I may say that our Neighbour Nation owes the Preservation of its priviledges to the Liberty of the press; for how often had their unthinking Members of Parliament been wheedled into a Compliance with their former Kings, to destroy their Constituents Liberties, if they had not had the true Representation of the Affairs of the Nation laid down before them by some honest sensible

sible Men? Which did serve as a Pole-
 stare to steer their Course by, and to
 excite them to Diligence in their Duty.
 Secondly, A *Habeas Corpus* will prevent
 Peoples being punished above the Merit
 of their Crimes, and of this Injustice
 the Emperors, *Gratian*, *Valentinian*, and
Theodosius, were sensible; when in
 their Constitutions (*l. 5. Cod. de Custodi-
 Rerum*) it is ordained, that those who
 were shut up in Prison be either con-
 victed and punished in due time, if
 Guilty, or Absolved, if Innocent. The
 Words of the Text are, *De his quos te-
 ner carcer inclusos, in aperta definitione
 sanximus, ut aut convictos velox pena
 subducatur, aut liberandos Custodia diuturna
 non maceret.*

Thirdly, That there be an Act esta-
 blishing a Council of Trade, the Na-
 ture of which I have touched a little in
 the Section of the Commons; For,
 Trade is of so great Moment to any
 Nation, which wishes to make a Figure
 amongst its Neighbours, That, in a
 word, either it must understand it in all
 its Mazes, or must resolve to follow the
 Old Patriarchs way of living, which is,

to confine it self only to what Nature requires. For which reason it is requisite, that there be a Council of Trade, whose Business it should be to lay down good and rational Measures for managing it, and for Curbing all the little tricks which discourage People to Traffick.

Fourthly, That the Army be reduced to as few as are only necessary for putting the Laws in Execution, and for preserving Peace at home; Because, every wise Nation, that hath its freedom and a power to observe the fundamental Laws of its Constitution, never keeps more Soldiers in time of Peace than are sufficient to protect the Execution of Justice. I am sorry therefore, That we have neither Money to maintain so many brave Men that are in our Troops, nor at present any advantageous service to employ them in; which might make them useful to this Kingdom: Unless we had got a Right to part of the King of Spains Testament, which was lately made by the care of his Neighbours.

Fifthly, That a good Method be fall'n on for regulating our Militia, and

a Fund provided for maintaining broken Officers, who may be useful to Oversee them. For it were hard, that Gentlemen, who sometime or other may be capable to serve their Country, should be exposed to the Inconveniencies of Poverty.

Sixthly, That all good Laws be made for encouraging Shipping, which is, and ought to be both the Offensive and Defensive force of this Kingdom.

Seventhly, That there be an Act declaring, That no Pensioner shall be capable to Vote in Parliament, or any body that hath his immediat Livelihood from His Majesty; Because, it is to be supposed, that all Pensioners will prefer the Humor of their Benefactor, to the Interest of their Country.

Eighthly, That a new Committee of Parliament be appointed every half year, to supply the places of Privy Counsellors to his Majesty. And the Advantages of such an Act are evident to every Body, that knows the Practices of a Privy Council composed of Courtiers.

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By these and such Acts, the Affairs of this Kingdom can be brought to so good a State, that not only it may provide for it's own Safety and Treasure, but likewise be in a Condition, either to separat from *England*, or to unite with it: As the Wisdom of this Nation shall find it convenient.

That there is a Necessity for *Scotland*, either to unite with *England*, or separat from it, is evident by the Experience of 97 years. In which time, this loose and irregular Tye of the Crowns, in place of an Union of Hearts, Hands and Civil Interest, hath only given Occasion to ill disposed Persons in both Kingdoms, to foment continual Jealousies and Animosities betwixt them: And to the *English*, an Opportunity of crushing every thing, that can make for the Interest of *Scotland*. Instances of which are innumerable, and some of them are but too fresh in our Memories.

I have already shewed the Advantages of an Union to both Kingdoms, in the preceeding Essay, and there is no Person more capable to bring that noble Work to a happy issue, than his present Majesty;

ity; who, therefore, ought to be Addressed for that end, by the Parliaments of both Nations, that they may have the Liberty to sit at the same time, for adjusting all Matters that relate to that important Affair.

But if the *English* continue to neglect, and delay to unite with *Scotland* upon reasonable Terms, the *Scots* only Interest will be, to mind their own Business for the future; so that whatever War may happen to *England*, let them ly aside, preserving Peace both at Home and Abroad; and making the best Advantage they can, either of their Neighbours Circumstances, or their own: Knowing, that tho' his *Britannick* Majesty can declare War against any of his Neighbouring Princes, by virtue of his Prerogative, yet he cannot oblige his *Scots* Subjects to furnish Money for carrying it on, unless they please, and find it for their Interest. Which is impossible, so long as there is no greater Union betwixt *England* and *Scotland*, than at present. For ever since our Kings Accession to the Crown of *England*, the *English* have always used the *Scots*, as the Ape did

did the Cat's Clutch, to pull the Chief out out of the Fire.

Let us therefore apply our selves to Frugality and Honesty, and to every thing that can put this Nation above the Contempt of its Neighbours. Let us acknowledge King *William* for our Monarch, so long as he liveth, and till the Hour of his Death, let us never so much as talk of a Successor to him, nor Cabal either for the Prince of *Wales* or *Hannover*. But may we for once mind our selves, having already been too fond of procuring Kings to the *English* Throne, who have only made use of us to serve their own ends.

At his present Majesties Death, if there be no Successor, which is already provided by Law, and if this Kingdom be not united with *England*; Experience will teach us, how to dispose of our Government. And no doubt, but *Scotland* is as able to subsist of it self, by the Industry and Wisdom of its People, as well as many petty Governments in *Europe*.

I will now end, putting the present Members of Parliament in Mind, That
 being,

being, in all probability, his Majesty will not ratifie that *Resolve* of Parliament concerning *Darien*; without which, (according to my Opinion) there's none of his *Scots* Subjects, that did contribute for that Expedition, but by Law may be pursued as Pirates, or their Abettors; Or must accept of a *Dishonourable Remission*. I say then, in the meantime, let the Members accept of all other good Laws, his Majesty will be pleased to grant, and especially, the Act for a Biennial Parliament; without which, I would not give a Farthing for a thousand good Laws, because they will all be broke, for want of Execution. But never let them give more Taxes, during his Majesties Life, which are not for advancing some Publick Benefit to the Kingdom.

And by so doing, we will testify to all the World, that the *Scots* are not to blame, for being branded with the Ignominious Crime of Piracy: Having had all the Right, that the Law of Nations could give them, for taking Possession of such a Place.

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Being then, the Honour and Safety
 of this Ancient Kingdom, the Advan-
 tages that may accrue to it for the fu-
 ture, and it's own present Happiness,
 all in a word, depend absolutely upon
 the steady and honest Conduct of the
 Members of this Parliament; Let, there-
 fore, every Member, who shall prefer
 his privat Interest to that of the Publick,
 be an Abomination to all Honest *Scot-
 men*: Who, I hope, shall have no more
 reason to complain to Providence in
 the Words of *Lucan*,

*Felix Roma quidem, Civisque habitura
 superbos:*
*Si Libertatis Superi tam Cura placeret,
 Quam Vindicta placet*

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